

The Sun.

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Assembly district, swore to expenses of thirty-two cents. One candidate for Mayor of New York put his disbursements at forty-five cents. A candidate for Congress in the Tenth district put his expenses at fifteen cents. Some exceptions to this rule were found, it is true, but generally speaking, the statements were misleading, and they defeated the purposes of the law. Candidates kept within the letter of the statute by declaring what they had expended individually, ignoring what organizations had expended in their behalf; and in some cases they defeated the law by lumping their disbursements, and describing them as "various other legitimate and necessary expenses." At last year's election the affidavits of the candidates footed up only \$140,789.22. In the Twenty-third, the biggest Assembly district in town, these were the items of expenditure by candidates: Tammany, \$450; Republican, \$45.00; County Democracy, \$25; Prohibitionist, \$4; Socialist, 6 cents.

It does not appear that any valid or compensating reform in electoral methods was achieved by the adoption of the Corrupt Practices act; but it has imposed upon candidates an extra task which in the case of defeated aspirants is irksome and vexatious. The law makes no discrimination even in favor of involuntary candidates. It imposes the same burden upon them as upon the most eager seekers for office, and fixes the same penalties. Accordingly, no time is lost by persons voted for at the election to file their papers, but it is much to be doubted if a real cure of corruption can be effected by this method of sworn expiation. The beneficiaries of corrupt election expenditures are not usually the disbursements, and the disbursements are not usually the beneficiaries.

The sound common sense of American citizens, their desire to see fair play, their unwillingness to elevate to office a candidate who has only his wealth to recommend him, their intense partisanship where questions of principle are involved, their admiration for a courageous candidate, and their superiority under order to all corrupt candidates, constitute a safer shield to the purity and integrity of the franchise than red tape and ponderous statutes which are designed to make men honest by law.

The German Socialist Programme.

No one can examine the list of demands put forth at Erfurt by the German Socialist Congress, and recently published by THE SUN, without being impressed with the change produced in the attitude of the Social-Democratic party through the repeal of the laws which Bismarck endeavored to stifle their aspirations. Not only are the demands no longer to be incendiary and lawless, but they have a moderate character, and they have to be made to be moderate. They will absorb the whole shopkeeping and small bourgeois class. On the other hand, by declaring in favor of free trade they have paved the way for a coalition with the Progressives, whose outcome may be the creation of a great Radical party strong enough at no distant day to control both the Reichstag and the legislatures of the several states composing the German Empire.

The comparative moderation of the new programme of the German Socialists will be manifest when we point out two facts. In the first place, there is no explicit reference to the cardinal doctrine of KARL MARX, that the organization and employment of labor should be undertaken by the State, to which all capital should be transferred. Such a purpose is only vaguely hinted at in the demand for "efficient national and international legislation for the protection of the working classes." Most of the other features of the programme, as a survey of them in detail will show, contemplate either reforms which have already been carried out in Switzerland, the United States, or England, or would be looked upon with favor by British Radicals and by a large number of the American people. What seem to be the most important demands for reform are the demand for female suffrage, for the gratuitous bestowal of legal advice and medical assistance, and for a legislative recognition that children attending the public schools should receive not only free education and free books, but free dinners. As a matter of fact, however, the advocates of female suffrage have several times come near carrying the House of Commons, and are now said to have made a convert of Lord Salisbury. Again, the claim of the poor to gratuitous legal and medical assistance is already recognized in principle in the United States, although it is imperfectly met. Nor, indeed, are there wanting in the country of England, Scotland and Ireland, reformers who insist that a midday meal should be provided in all public schools.

When the Socialists at Erfurt ask for universal suffrage for direct election by the people through secret ballot, and for the acceptance of the "one man, one vote" principle, they are not thinking of the Reichstag, which is chosen under such conditions, but of certain State legislatures, and especially of the Prussian Landtag, which is elected in an indirect way. Their preference for biennial parliaments is justified by the experience of the American House of Representatives, and it is shared by the British Radicals, who desire a like term for the House of Commons. Again, in asserting the conviction that all local public officials, including judicial officers, should be elected by the people, the German Socialists have in view the example of the United States. It is American institutions, also, which they would imitate when they request the repeal of all laws restricting the free expression of opinion, or the right of association or of public meeting. The same model is evidently before them when they declare that religion should be a matter of private opinion, that all payments from public funds for religious purposes should cease, and that all ecclesiastical or religious communities should be considered private associations, and as such be left to manage their own affairs.

When, on the other hand, they insist upon the abolition of indirect taxation and customs duties, and say that public expenditure should be defrayed by a graduated tax on property and income, they do but carry to a logical conclusion the doctrine of the Manchester school, which have exercised for many years a preponderant influence upon English legislation. From England, too, the Socialists have borrowed the idea of a succession duty fixed on a sliding scale according to the amount of the inheritance and the degree of relationship between the legatee and the testator. From the French republic they have taken the conviction that not only should national schools be secularized, but that attendance on them should be made compulsory for the children of all classes. For two other proposals it may be said that they correspond to regulations which have already been issued in Switzerland. One of these is the abolition of capital punishment; the other is the so-called referendum or the direct participation of the people in legislation, including the right of the people to initiate as well as to propose laws.

The programme of the German Socialists is a very moderate one. It is not a programme of revolution, but of reform. It is not a programme of lawlessness, but of law. It is not a programme of violence, but of peace. It is not a programme of chaos, but of order. It is not a programme of destruction, but of construction. It is not a programme of despair, but of hope. It is not a programme of selfishness, but of selflessness. It is not a programme of ignorance, but of knowledge. It is not a programme of poverty, but of wealth. It is not a programme of weakness, but of strength. It is not a programme of failure, but of success. It is not a programme of defeat, but of victory. It is not a programme of loss, but of gain. It is not a programme of pain, but of pleasure. It is not a programme of sorrow, but of joy. It is not a programme of death, but of life. It is not a programme of darkness, but of light. It is not a programme of cold, but of warmth. 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